TROTSKY: Trade Union Unity ON PAGE FOUR

THE MILITANT

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Revolutionary Progress in Spain

THE WEEKLY BY JULY 1st!

At the recent meeting of our national committee, it was decided to advance the date originally set for the conversion of the **Militant** into a weekly. By this decision, the first issue of the Weekly **Militant** will be out on July First.

The need for the Weekly is now more imperative and unpostponable than ever before. The tasks of the Left Opposition are rapidly multiplying. and the publication of our paper as a semi-monthly makes it difficult to reflect the progress of the labor and revolutionary movemnts or to measure up to these tasks. In the United States the signs of labor's re-awakening, of its resistance to the savage offensive of the capitalist class, are increasing in every part of the country. The militancy of the Kentucky miners. the revolt of the miners in Illinois, the strikes in Pennsylvania and now the strike of the Mansfield steel workers—these are some of the indications of what is ahead.

Beyond the boundaries of the United States, too, events of international significance are unfolding before our eyes. In Spain, the proletarian revolution is moving up on the order of the day. Latin America continues in turmoil. India and China are still in the throes of unsettled political convulsions. The crisis deepens in the EuropeaEn countries. In the Soviet Union. all the elements of a new situation are maturing which may be of decisive significance for the whole world. Everywhere, the class struggle is pregnant with violent clashes between the last days of bourgeois society and the first days of socialism.

Almost nowhere is the labor movement at the high level of preparedness required from it by the situation. Almost everywhere, the official Communist movement, the vanguard of the working class, is not only suffering severely from the ravages of Stalinism, the inability to measure up to its historic tasks, to absorb the discontentment of the masses and guide it into revolutionary channels. All the greater is the need, therefore, for a wider sphere of action for the Left Opposition which has come into existence to regenerate the Communist movement on the foundations laid for it by the great masters of the proletarian revolution: Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

With the semi-monthly, we are greatly handicapped. From every issue we are compelled by our limited space to omit a considerable amount of material. The **Militant** as a weekly will remedy this defect to a large degree. Our plans are not only to double the efficiency of our movement by doubling the appearance of our organ, but of improving the contents of the **Militant** to the best of our abilities. With the aid of our comrades, of our contributors, we aim to make the **Militant** even more distinctly than before the outstanding revolutionary Marxist journal in the country. We feel confident that it can be done if the comrades everywhere come to our aid with the special efforts that are now required.

We will publish the first issue of the Weekly on July First. The intervening time is not very great It means that all efforts must be concentrated in the coming weeks not only to make possible the appearance of the Weekly, but to insure its maintenance. For this we require:

1. That the fund for the Expansion Program be raised immediately to One Thousand Dollars.

2. That redoubled efforts be exerted to increase the circulation of the **Militant,** guaranteeing a wider circle of readers and supporters.

3. That a sounder basis be put under

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The Militant and the Events in Spain

The **Militant** is happy to **present** to its readers the following two articles on the events in Spain. The Right wing and the Centrist press are so deeply imbedded in their own national narrownes that the progress of the Spanish revolution unfolds itself without either exposition or explanation in their columns. The proletarian revolutionists, however, are following the Spanish situation wth breathless interest and the highest hopes.

The article by our comrade Nin acquires special significance by the fact that its author, now so active in the revolutionary movement of Spain, and proletarian Barcelona in particular, was recently expelled by Stalinist edict from the territory of the Soviet Union. This disgraceful action was executed because of comrade Nin's unflagging devotion to the cause of revolutionary internationalism and his adherence for years to the Left Opposition. Denounced by the Stalinist functionaries as a "counter-revolutionist", our comrade was imprisoned by the reaction soon after his arrival in Spain, and immediately upon his release threw himself into the revolutionary activity to which he has devoted most of his life. In his person is once more embodied the truth that those whom Stalin calls "Trotskyist counter-revolutionists" are in the vanguard of the real struggle for proletarian emancipation.

Our correspondent from Barcelona, who gives such a vivid picture of the state of mind of the rebellious workers and students, is comrade Jacques Obin, a militant in the French Left Opposition. The **Militant** expects to be able to publish additional correspondence from Spain by comrade Obin so that its readers may be kept informed regularly on the events as they proceed.

Our hearts are with the revolutionists in Spain who have before them the possibilities of advancing humanity to a more magnificent stage in its history. Our salute to the dawn of the proletarian revolution in Spain!

What Is Happening in Spain?

A LETTER FROM BARCELONA

The correspondents of the foreign press give two contrary versions of the forces in the Communist movement in the present events in Spain. According to one, the Spanish Communists directly threaten the provisional government of the bourgeois republic; except for the monarchy, any other régime would be condemned, they say, to fall in a short while into the hands of "Bolshevik agitators" and "emissaries from Moscow", and all of Spain doomed to anarchy and disorder.

According to the other, the Communist peril is completely non-existent. They judge according to the membership of the official Communist Party of Spain; according to the votes obtained by the C. P. S. in the elections of April 12 (a hundred in Madrid, 176 in Barcelona); according to the extremely weak and little followed demonstrations of the C. P. S.

These two versions are equally tendencious; the first seeks to justify the crimes of the monarch and to get a little credit for it abroad; the second unreservedly defends the new régime of the big Spanish bourgeoisie and wants to make it easier for it to consolidate itself defi,nitely without disturbances or convulsions. Both versions deliberately make more or less of a digression from reality. The bourgeois journalists do not see, and frequently cannot see, the perspectives of the social movement and the subterranean forces which are being born in the exploited masses and accumulating there.

Less than anywhere else can the state of mind of the exploited masses in Spain be judged according to the forces and the militancy of the Communist party.

THE INTEREST IN "MOSCOW AFFAIRS"

When the Barcelona correspondent of **Le Petit Parisien** says, for example, that "no more than 1,000 Communists are to be counted in the whole country" and that in Spain, consequently, there is "the most absolute disinterest in Moscow affairs", he shows that he is irremediably myopic from the political point of view. In Barcelona and throughout Catalonia, to speak only of the most important industrial part of Spain, there is an **enormous** interest in "Moscow affairs'. The sympathies with the U. S. S. R., with the October revolution, and in general, with Communism, are **extremely profound** among the proletarian mases. Not a day can be passed in Barcelona without observing them (unless one sees only what he wants to see). It is enough to take a walk on the Ramblas, in the center of Barcelona, and to glance at the newstands and book stalls at a distance of 20 yards from each other all along these vast Barcelona boulevards.

Among the multitude of books which cover these stands, you will find an enormous amount of books and pamphlets on Soviet Russia, on the October revolution and on Communist doctrine.

Among the political and social literature, there are far more books on Russia and on the proletarian revolution than on Spain and its bourgeois revolution.

A very gratifying fact for the Left Opposition: this exceptional interest for everything that comes from the U. S. S. R. is manifested **above all** for the works and the revolutionary life of our comrade Trotsky. There is not a newstand on the Rablas, not a bookstore in all Barcelona without a dozen books and pamphlets by comrade Trotsky. Almost all the publications are brought out here in colors, and with the portrait of the author on the cover. Well! the picture of L. D. Trotsky is shown on the Ramblas almost as frequently as the pictures of Macia and the two mutineers of Jaca who were shot: Galan and Hernandez, the most popular heroes in Spain.

The two following examples will show you, each in its own way, how great is the popularity of comrade Trotsky in Spain. A group of "Stalinists" in Madrid, who are engaged in publishing without great success and above all without substantial material profit, wanted to make a little money by publishing a pamphlet, which might assure them an incontestable success. This group of "hundred percenters" did not hesitate very long to select (without any authorization) the pamphlet of L. D. Trotsky on the "Spanish Revolution". But in order to centralize the political effect that this pamphlet would have for Stalinism and the leaders of the C. I., they simply took out the passages of this study where comrade Trotsky polemicizes against the mistakes of the C. I. and the stupidities of its leaders.

On the occasion of what might be (Continued on page 5)

The Tasks of Spanish Communists

By ANDRES NIN

Having exhausted every resource to maintain himself upon a throne that has been tottering for years, Alfonso of Bourbon found himself compelled to quit the country on April 14. The monarchy fell to pieces at one blow, nobody—absolutely nobody—stood up to defend it. It really fell like a rotted fruit. And the republic was proclaimed all over the country without combat, without the spilling of blood, in an immense eruption of delirious enthusiasm.

This circumstance has only still further stimulated the democratic illusions of the masses who naively imagine that the victory over the monarchy was obtained thanks to the municipal elections of the 12th. This illusion is also shared by the anarcho-syndicalist elements of the National Confederation of Labor. Thus, Pestana declared a few days ago in a trade union meetings that the recent events had demonstrated the possibility of a peaceful evolution, without violence, towards libertarian Communism, and **Solidaridad Obrera,** the official organ of the N. C. of L., wrote literally on April 23: "Under a régime of liberty, the bloodless revolution is still more possible, still easier than under the monarchy."

THE REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT

Thanks to this state of mind of the masses, the provisional government of the republic has been able to carry out with impunity a policy whose guiding thought is to maintain the status quo as far as possible, that is, to confine itself in substance to a change of label. Its essential interest consists of maintaining under the republican banner everything that threatened to fall to pieces under the monarchy. In reality, the proclamation of the republic is a desperate attempt of the most clearsighted part of the bourgeoisie and the large landowners to preserve their privileges. From this point of view, the composition of the provisonal government is extremely significant: the presidency is in the hands of Alcala Zamora, landowner and fervent Catholic, one of the most typical representatives of feudalism and of absolutist and reactionary unitarianism; the portfolio of finances is held by the social democrat Prieto, intimately linked with Basque finance capital; the minister of economy, Nicolan d'Olwer, is the representative of the Catalonian Bank; finally, at the head of the ministry of labor is Largo Caballero, socialist leader, former Councillor of State under the dictatorship, secretary of the reformist trade union center, the General Union of Workers, whose task in the government is quite clear: to stifle the labor movement, to tame it for the greatest profit of the consolidation of bourgeois exploitation under the republican form.

It is obvious that such a government cannot solve a single one of the fundamental problems of the democratic revolution; the problem of the land, of nationalities, of the relations between church and state of the transformation of the apparatus of the old régime, of the struggle against reaction.

In its first official declaration, the provisional government expressed itself in terms which show clearly that it is prepared to leave intact the foundations of the large landed estates. In this regard, it only formulates one very precise assertion: "Private property is guaranteed by law" and it "can be expropriated only for reasons of public utility and with a corresponding indemnity". As a solution, the note confines itself to giving the vague promise that "the agrarian law must correspond with the social function of the land".

It is clear that the republic has not

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EDITORIAL NOTES

NOW FOR THE WEEKLY MILITANT!

The decision of last Monday's meeting of the National Committee to bring the **Militant** out again as a weekly when the Expansion Program Fund reaches the thousand dollar mark, and setting July 1st as the definite date of publication, represents another real advance. The New York branch has already endorsed the decision, and there is no doubt that it will be hailed with enthusiasm by the entire organization and the circle of sympathetic workers who surround it and support it. There is likewise no doubt that the decision will be realized in life on the day set, for the task has been carefully weighed and the ground has been prepared.

The first four months of this year have witnessed an improvement and strengthening of the Communist League all along the line. All this work has gone forward under the sign of political consolidation and a planned program of expansion for the year. One-third of the two thousand dollar fund has already been contributed, and the execution of the program, in sections, has kept an even pace. Two numbers of the English edition of the International Bulletin have appeared; field organization work has been started in the Illinois mine fields; preparations for the National Conference are nearing completion; and the publishing company has its first book on the press. Now we are ready for the next step—the Weekly **Militant**. Another push along the whole front and the task will be accomplished.

Our **Militant** is the flag of Communism in America. When its first issue appeared, they looked at the mere handful gathered around it and said the first issue would be the last. But they miscalculated. They did not know the power of the idea behind it. They did not know the resources, in endurance and sacrifice, of stiff-necked conviction. Sixty-eight numbers of our paper bear testimony to their error. The triumphant re-emergence of the **Militant** as a weekly will underscore it once again. The concentration of our forces for this event is the order of the day.

FIGHTING FOR FREE SPEECH.

Minneapolis, where the **Communist** League branch comprises a majority of the experienced Communist workers—and thereby has the possibility of applying our policy independently in the class struggle—is the present scene of a very interesting demonstration of revolutionary tactics. The City Government there has been seized by a fit of Red hysteria and for some time has been prohibiting and breaking up all kinds of radical meetings. The gatherings of the official party fell under this ban and several meetings of the Communist League shared the same fate, since the chief of police is an ignorant man and does not know that the real purpose of Dunne and Skoglund is to support the war against the Soviet Union. Both wings of the Communist movement were thus reduced to a virtual state of illegality, at least in regard to the right of public assemblage. Their contrasting reactions to the situation can afford a fruitful subject of discussion. The same state of affairs prevails in other places and, as the class struggle grows more acute, there will be many more.

The tactics of the Stalinists—led by the peerless Karl Reeve, who was sent to Minneapolis by his factional opponents to fight the Trotskyites and be destroyed by them—are characteristic. Imbued with the ideology of the Third Period, which is only one step removed from undergroundism in principle, they have virtually accepted the situation as a proof that the capitalists are against the workers and that the city officials are tools of the capitalists. Thus they prove that there is no free speech, which they consider a point in their favor, The chief of police, at the same time, thinks it is a point in his favor. So both are satisfied—and there are no public meetings of the Party.

The Left Oppositionists have a different idea. They think free speech — and democratic rights in general—have a real value for the workers' movement and should not be surrendered lightly. In view of the fact that the capitalist government professes to guarantee these rights, and that masses of workers and other citizens who are in no way connected with the Communists ardently believe in them, they decided to test the issue in a fight for free speech. To that unique idea they added another: That a wide movement should be set into motion on this issue. Their appeal to the Stalinists for joint acton to initiate the fight failing, they are proceeding to the organization of a broad Free Speech Conference which will draw the trade unions and other organizations into the fight. By this means they aim to shift the position from a fight of the city administration against the Communists to a fight of the labor movement, or a large section of it—including the Communists—against the illegal usurpations of the police.

For our part, we are in complete agreement with the course adopted by the Minneapolis branch of the Communist League. It has a double importance: For the restoration of civil rights in Minneapolis and contact with a wider circle of workers in the struggle for it; and as an example—and a badly needed one—to the whole American movement of Communism. The Communists—a small minority—must fight to be heard. Democratic rights are of the utmost importance to the workers in their struggle for organization. We ought to inscribe them on our banner and call the workers to a joint struggle with us to defend them. The fight itself has an importance hardly less than the object, so long as it is conducted without illusions.

Stalinism has brought devastation into every phase of revolutionary ideas, methods and practices. Not the least of this has resulted from its false approach to the question of free speech and the discredit it has brought to the idea by its own hooligan practices. It is high time to turn the helm. The Minneapolis example is a good beginning.

WHAT ABOUT MORGENSTERN AND GOODMAN?

What are the officials of the party and the I. L. D. going to do about the defense of Morgenstern and Goodman, the two members of the Communist League who are facing trial on charges of sedition in Philadelphia? Are they going to support them in the spirit of class solidarity and arouse the workers about the case, or are they gooing to continue to sabotage and betray these militants out of factional spite, as they have been doing up till now? We intend to have an answer to these questions, and every honest class couscious worker will want an answer too.

Our readers already know about the case. It is a part of a general attack against the radical labor movement in Pennsylvania. The two comrades were arrested for distributing the unemployment leaflet of the Communist League, and the statement in the leaflet that "the solution of the unemployment problem can be found only in the proletarian revolution" was held to be seditious by the Grand Jury which brought in the indictment. A number of Communists have already been convicted under this law. Only a few weeks ago comrade Lawrence, a party member, was convicted and sentenced. Indictments are pending against several others.

The problem is a very serious one. It involves the legality of the revolutionary labor movement in Pennsylvania and the liberty of the most active militants. A real move to arouse the workers and form a united front of class defense is needed. The I. L. D. has the duty of organizing this fight, but it is not being done. On the contrary, the bureaucrats are playing a game of the most treacherous sabotage.

At first they refused to do anything for Morgenstern and Goodman and the latter were compelled to get their own lawyers in the first proceedings and to raise their own bail. Up to the present date the Party press has suppressed all news of their case. The I. L. D. publicity ignores them. On top of that the united front conference of the I. L. D., with Engdahl present, refused to seat the delegates of the Communist League a few days after their indictment. Retreating from this shameful position under a storm of protest from workers in the ranks of the I. L. D., they are now trying to cover themselves up with a promise of "legal defense" at the trial.

This is not enough! Morgenstern and Goodman are revolutionists, and they do not rely on lawyers to get them "justice" in the courts of the class enemy. We want a mass movement of working class protest to defend them! We want a public mass meeting to inform the workers what is going on and what it means! We want a broad united front conference of workers' organizations to launch a militant campaign against the sedition law and for the defense of all its victims! We want publicity about the case, not a conspiracy of silence worthy only of agents of the prosecution!

You are playing with fire, bureaucrats! The revolutionary workers have never yet turned their backs on class war prisoners because of their political views. If you continue to do it they will turn their backs on you. If the class defense of Morgenstern and Goodman cannot be organized with your help it will be organized without you and against you!

THE RIGHT WING CAPITULATORS

The increasing number of capitulators from the Right wing is one of the most interesting and significant aspects of the development of the inner-party struggle. The announcements of these capitulations is becoming somewhat of a regular feature of the **Daily Worker.** Taken together with the recent outright desertion of a whole group to the Musteites, they add a fresh confirmation to the idea that the position of a faction attemping to stand halfway between Communism and social democracy is not a strong one. It cannot be maintained that the capitulations represent merely the falterings of individuals, which occur in every fight. There are too many of them. Nor is the fact that a number of the former supporters of the Right wing, recently readmitted to the party, had previously been inactive in the faction of any great importance. It means only that Lovestone has been losing them by a gradual process; that sympathizers as well as members are falling away from the faction. This is the actual trend revealed by the recent events.

In this respect also the position of the Right wing contrasts sharply with that of the Left. Our capitulators were an insignificant handful, and were confined almost exclusively to the first months of the struggle. And lately, even among those who turned back at first, signs of a new approach to the Opposition is to be observed. The same contrast appears in an opposite direction. From all indications the movement of party members toward the Right wing has ceased, while the Left Opposition continues, steadily if slowly, to recruit members and gain sympathizers in the party ranks. Such declarations as that recently issued by Clem Forsen, head of the T. U. U. L. in the Twin Cities, occur frequently enough to show the way the wind is blowing. But open declarations of adherence are not the real measure of our strength and growth in the party. Many more are fighting for our slogans, in whole or in part. A still wider circle has been neutralized.

For these developments there is a principle explanation. The Lovestones are driven by the logic of their position to turn more openly toward the Socialist party, through tht door of Muste and the counterfeit "militants", and thus to close the avenue of approach to the Communist workers. The Communist League, on the other hand, endeavors to bring a Communist criterion to every question of the class struggle. Its mission is to **educate** the party. To the extent that it succeeds with this task it draws closer to the Communist workers and becomes a guide for them in every field. The real issues involved in the party crisis were buried at first under a mountain of misrepresentation and confusion. Time and the test of events are making them clearer. This is the explanation of the trend of development noted above.

THE WHITE COLLAR UNEMPLOYED.

While the prolonged unemployment of millions of workers and the drastic reduction of standards for the entire class, are rapidly maturing the conditions for an enormous development of the proletarian class movement, the process is being assisted and supplemented from another quarter. The evil days which have fallen upon the professions, the small business people and the "white-collar" stratum of emplolyees will undoubtedly have a considerable influence, even if it is primarily a negative one, in narrowng the gap between the working class movement of America and its industrial development.

Like every crisis, but on a far wider scale, the present one has the effect of hurling vast sections of these intermediary clsasses down into the proletariat. In the further entrenchment of big capital, and the more economical organization which ensues, the great bulk of the victims will be permanently displaced. Even more important: The chances for workers to climb into these preferred positions are correspondingly restricted.

In the **American Mercury** for April there is a graphic account of the ruthless swath which rationalization, spurred on by the crisis, has cut through the white-collar division of industry, from clerks to high-powerd salesmen and junior executives. Many of them are dispensed with permanently as part of the waste that scientific management has learned to avoid. A whole army of people whose incomes ran into five figures are on the industrial scrap-heap. Brooks Shepard, the author of the article, speaks of "former top-sergeants, lieutenants, and captains of industry" who have come to the end of their tether and face the stark problem of existence which but yesterday seemed pleasant and secure.

There are no statistics on the curtailment of professional incomes, but we know in a general way that it has been severe. Occasional news items and reports throw a revealing light on the situation. "I know lawyers with first class training and experience who are starving" said Justice Jacob S. Strahl at a meeting of the Brooklyn Women's Bar Association in Brooklyn. "One of them is reduced to peddling razor blades . . . Another was arrested recently for selling tomatoes without a license." So reports the **Times** for May 6.

In the hey-day of imperialist prosperity the class movement of the workers was undermined, among other things, by the opportunities for individual escape from wage labor created by the exceptional circumstances The workers' movement was systematically robbed of its natural leaders and almost the whole class was poisoned with the psychology of individualism, fatal to class solidarity. The lesson to be read in the present plight of the white-collar elements is the closing of these avenues of escape from the proletariat, and the increasing insecurity of those who have already attained such positions.

A prolongation of this state of affairs will redound to the advantage of the labor movement. The more futile the hope of individual emancipation appears, the stronger will grow the determination of the ambitious workers to rise with the class. Individualism will be replaced by the class psychology of the proletariat. This development will be an important factor in liberating the unbounded energies of the American workers for the revolutionary struggle.

J. P. C.

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Results of the Illinois Miners' Revolt

By ARNE SWABECK

The result of the miners' convention held at St. Louis on April 15 has already been characterized by us as another setback to the most recent rank and file revolt. It failed to materialize in the formation of a new union. But it does not for one moment invalidate the correctness of such a course.

For the miners there is still no other way out. The once proud United Mine Workers of America, in all of the soft coal producing territories, is shattered—its sorry remnants dragged into the gutter by the official leeches who still try to hang on to the graft from coal operators in reward for preventing union organization.

In the first instance, the failure to lay the foundation for a new union, now that this opportunity was available, must be charged to the Muste-Howat type of "progressives" But there were other important contributing causes. Some of them were hemming in the sweep of the movement itself prior to the convention. We must not forget that the coal miners are still suffering from the pressure of serious defeats of not so long ago and reverses in numerous local struggles to maintain a semblance of union conditions. In addition the fields are ravaged by unemployment. Through all of this, the miners have continually had the sinister and powerful force of the combined coal operators, corrupt union fakers, and state police arrayed against them.

While these factors in a sense should count heavily for a new union movement, their effects naturally require great determination, driving power, and organization to overcome. This driving power was by no means furnished and could not be furnished by the Musteite "progressives" who became the leading factor. Their lack of decisiveness and inability really to furnish a progressive program came particularly to a head at the convention when it faced the central issue.

Serious Weaknesses Still Prevail

That the miners from the Illinois district would show considerable caution and move slowly despite their being thoroughly aroused by the treacherous Lewis-Fishwick sell-out agrement was to be expected. One need only remember the shattered expectations from their healthy revolt of one year ago which ended in the filthy harness of the so-called reorganized U. M. W. The Left wing of the National Miners' Union, directed by the Communist party bureaucrats, failed the miners then. This official Left wing failed the rank and file now. It even went to the extreme stupidity of asking the miners to boycott the St. Louis convention.

What is the status of the miners now after this convention? Their position, while a precarious one, is still rich in possibilities. Paradoxical as this may seem it is nevertheless true. And only boldness and decisiveness will make the latter factor weigh heaviest in the scale.

The St. Louis convention officially separated all of the miners locals represented there from the U. M. W. of Lewis, Walker, and Fishwick; but it failed to provide a national organization in its place. It thus failed really to provide the machinery of defensive and offensive for these miners. Surely this is a weak position to be in. It is one laying them just that much more open to attacks from the operators, the fakers, and the police. It is one also which in no way facilitates the organization of the unorganized fields. It can remain so only temporarily. But precisely in that lies its possibilites. We can therefore repeat: not only is there no other way out than the organization of a new national union, but this way out must be adopted as speedily as possible.

At the St. Louis convention the Musteite "progressives" seemed afraid of their own shadow. With a good delegation at hand, with a few scores of thousands of miners represented, they failed to provide them with an organization or even to lay the basis for such. Nevertheless a force is set into motion, and even for these "progressives" the die is cast. By the further conflict they have arrived at with the A. F. of L. officialdom, they are compelled to go a bit forward, even though with possible splits, or else, to step out. They will undoubtedly seek to establish themselves further as a definite factor in the mine fields. This is further evidenced by their plans for another convention this summer.

Which Position Proved Correct?

A comparison of the position taken by each of the three Communist currents toward this revolt movement is illuminating, to say the least. Here where workers again groping for a way out; attempting to break from the terrible scourge of official corruption and treason with which the old union was infested. They had made a first serious attempt with the formation of the National Miners Union. This union became an isolated sect and remained impotent mainly due to the serious blunders of the party leadership. The Illinois miners made another attempt in the revolt of a year ago leading only to the disillusionment of the present Lewis-Fishwick agreement. Meanwhile the U. M. W. is practically wiped out except in the anthracite. And even there the scourge of official corruption and treason has been no less prevalent. Recently the striking miners at the Glen Alden mines and the Shamokin section of the lower anthracite, when appealing to Lewis for assistance, were denounced by him with the most brutal cynicism. The lesser officials could on that basis proceed to defend the mine owners' interests. In the unorganized fields of Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia soft coal regions, whatever is left of this union is notoriously known to be only the unorganized gangs of gunmen who seek to prevent union organization from coming into being.

The Right Wing and the Center Make Their Position Clear

In this situation the Right wing current, the Lovestone group, proposes their solution as follows:

"Therfore, what is to be done? Only one thing! To organize now a new national union of coal miners would only increase the division and confusion in the rank of the workers.

"The fight therefore must be taken up in spite of all difficulties in the U. M. W. A. to organize a Left wing—to organize a rank and file opposition. That is the only solution." (**Revolutionary Age**, 4-25-1931.)

True to their position, the Right wing advocates going back to the Lewis union. This is condemnable not merely in view of the fact that this union is decaying and its remnants becoming utilized by corrupt officials as a means of preventing any struggles to better the conditions of the miners. That by itself is not the major consideration. No, by far of greater consequence is the fact that in face of the existing revolt such advocacy, when brought forward in the name of working class policies, brands the Lovestoneites for exactly what they are in this case: Definitely to the right of even the Musteite "progressives", the handle at which the capitalist forces and the old union bureaucrats pull to endeavor to prevent the revolt, to prevent the building of a militant union. Is there any difference in this from the rôle of the social reformists?

How did the Centrists square their position toward this revolt? We have reported their policy of boycott during the pre-convention period as expressed in leaflets issued by the N. M. U. This amounted in sum and substance to boycott of the movement itself. There followed the feeble attempt, at least formally, though not in reality, and too late to have any effect upon the convention, to make a 180 degree turn toward a correct position. It was contained in Foster's belated article in the **Daily Worker,** proposing that the miners attend the convention and form a united front with the N. M. U.

The Position of the Left Opposition

From the very inception, only the Left had a correct revolutionary position. We stated immediately that the first step of the revolt must be complete separation from the reactionary capitalist lieutenants. We proposed to follow up directly with the organization of a new militant union as the only way out. We proposed further, as a means toward building one union of all coal miners, to work for an amalgamation of all the revolting sections with the N. M. U. We appealed to the party to accept a united front of the Communist vanguard to work for this correct policy.

In politics the logic of a correct position when applied brings its own definite conclusion: particularly so in revolutionary politics. And so also here. When confronted with the position taken by the Left, the party was compelled to make a change. And willy-nilly, despite all the Stalinist denunciations of us, in actual practise they could not reject our united front proposal. Delegate Dan Winnigan of Indiana, the only supporter of the official party views, and we asume, with the most honest intentions, became the first direct supporter for comrade Allard's motion at the St. Louis convention to "proceed and build a new union now." It would be well for party members and Communist workers to reflect deeply over this comparison of positions. Not only that, but alslo to draw the necessary conclusons.

For us it was an achievement of no small importance that delegates supporting the Left Opposition views became the outstanding banner-bearers in the fight for a new militant union; that there were certain weakness in this fight we have already pointed out. Nevertheless these delegates succeeded in making clear their critical attitude to the Musteite "progressives". They made correct criticism of the party-directed N. M. U. while simultaneously maintaining a correct attitude for unity of action of the Communist vanguard.

What of the Future?

The failure of the present revolt movement to crystallize as yet into a new national union will undoubtedly be taken advantage of by the coal operators jointly with the U. M. W. officials and backed up by the state police. They will endeavor if possible to crush this movement before it assumes "too" definite proportions. That the miners, however, will know how to fight back is already indicated in Indiana, in Kentucky, as well as in the anthracite Glen Alden and Shamokin Valley strikes.

As far as the reformists of the Muste school are concerned the following is well to bear in mind: At certain periods reformists are compelled to take a progressive direction. Inevitably they will again revert to reformism. One year ago the Musteites went into a combination with the Fishwick-Walker reactionaries. But the miners' revolt movement, when the forces become really unleashed, will develop much faster than the "progressiveism" of the Musteites and go beyond these narrow confines. Since the ultimate solution of the working class can be found only through revolutionary action, the reformists, when reverting to their natural position, become a distinct barrier. Thus the rôle of these "progressives" within and in relation to the movement: Yesterday in the camp of reaction, today "progressive", while tomorrow standing pat and then again reactionary. Hence this conclusion: this leadership must be replaced by the Left wing.

Victory for the coal miners can best be assured when they rely solely upon their own class forces. The next convention of the revolting elements planned for this summer can unquestionably become an important step on this road. But it would be quite clear that such an achievement is directly connected with and dependent upon the ability to strengthen the forces which really fight for a new militant union. The Miners' Educational Leagues now organized at several points in Illinois can become valuable instruments in this process.

It should be clear that these leagues should specifically be made the instruments of the Left wing. Ours is the task of imbuing them with the necessary spirit and clarity of purpose and to fully establish the Left wing leadership within them. In their activities these Leagues should by all means use every possible pressure toward the definite building of a new national union upon the local and district Policy Committees which are established by the St Lous convention decision. The further policy of fighting for amalgamation with other revolting sections and with the National Miners Union remains as correct as before. We of the Left Opposition again propose a united front with the party for unity of the Communist vanguard in the struggle toward this goal.

There will be no genuine Left wing without the building of the Communist forces. In this sense we urge the Communist coal miners to build the Left Communist Opposition directly in the fields.

Who Has the «Leopard's Spots»?

While reading the March Issue of the **Proletarian** the official organ of the Proletarian party, a little item directed at the Left Opposition of the C. P. caught the writer's attention. The article which is written up under the heading of "Party Notes" (Chicago) takes issue with certain statements made in the one and only article dealing with the Proletarian party that has appeared in the **Militant** up to the present date. The statement which drew most of the P. P. writer's fire was one which spoke of interest shown by some of the P. P. members in the fundamental questions raised by the Left Opposition and interpreted this as the healthiest sign of a ferment in the ranks of the P. P. that has been seen for years.

The statement is vigorously denied. According to the P. P. writer there is not even a ripple let alone a ferment in the calm waters of the P. P.

Probably the best proof that the article in the **Militant** was not far from correct is the indignant manner in which the P. P. writer denies its truth. Experience teaches that where there is so much smoke there is apt to be a bit of fire. But since the P. P. writer claims that the **Militant** was miles and miles from the truth we might ask why it was necessary to pass a motion that no P. P. member should discuss the question of Socialim in one country, the main tendencies in the C. I. and other disputed questions, with the Left Opposition members, shortly after the article appeared in the **Militant?** We understand that such a motion was passed (if it is not so we would be glad to be informed) and it strikes us that such a motion would be useless if no interest in these questions were being manifested by any of the P. P. members.

While the writer was neither the author of the article that appeared in the **Militant** nor the author's informer he can say without falsehood that in his limited contact with P. P. members (I would be the last to claim that it is extensive) not a few of them did show more than a passing interest in the disputed questions in the International Communist movement. Moreover, the answers to the questions put to him were not such as could be gleaned from reading the articles in the **Proletarian** dealing with "Trotskyism" which appeared under the signature of Stanley Novak.

Question of Leopards

The P. P. article referred to us as being a "leopard" spotted in the **same way** as the old C. P. "leopard". This should entitle us to take at least one glance at the P. P. "leopard". One of the chief contentions of the P. P. against the C. P. has always been that the latter would not discuss questions of program with them. Early in the winter our Chicago group proposed an inter-group discussion with the P. P. on the question of "American program". The P. P. declined, giving as a reason pressure of work. Several times comrade Oehler who, as a Marxist, is at least equal to the best they have, proposed to them that he be allowed to speak at their forum on the question of socialism in one country and several other important subjects. He was turned down flat while a number of college professors, trade union liberals and other nondescript speakers were accepted for speaking dates. We do not question the right of the P. P. to select whomever they choose as speakers but the attitude manifested by certain P. P. leaders in excluding comrade Oehler from speaking on these subjects is, we suggest, a little more than akin to the methods used by the American Stalinists.

Another incident that came to my mind took place at one of their forums. Novak who was the speaker delivered a lecture on the "five year plan." His lecture was very little different than the usual ballyhoo stuff put out by the Stalinists on the same subject. In the discussion the writer raised the question of socialism in one country and other basic questions written upon by comrade Trotsky. In the rebuttal Novak practically disposed of these questions by simply calling Trotsyy a scoundrel. So far as I know not a single P. P. leader protested against this line of argument, However, a few rank and file members did tell me they not only considered the answers to my questions bad but the manner of answering them improper coming from this leading "anti-Trotsky theoretician."

Whether the leopard became spotted through close association with the Stalinists or was contaminated by a too ardent perusal of the Stalinist controlled **Inprecor** by one Don Stanislaus Novakinsky is of little importance. The examples set forth here bear the unmistakable earmarks of "the original sin" that the P. P. leaders frequently complain against.

We, of course, do not know if the P. P. at this time will see fit, at its forthcoming convention, to take a clear cut stand on the important questions before the International Communist movement and thereby align itself more closely ideologically with one of the three factions in the International (even if not organizationally), or whether it will merely procrastinate. But we sincerely hope the latter will not be the case. So far as the general characteristic of the P. P. are concerned the Chicago Left Opposition regards them in the main as an honest, sincere, hard-working group, although we do not agree with them on many questions. In our contact with them we have always been friendly, cordial, straightforward and above aboard just as we hafe been toward every other sincere working class group. We not only stand ready but will be more than glad to discuss questions important to the working class with them at all times. We have no doubt that such discussions will be mutually beneficial.

—JOHN MIHELIC.

The Question of Trade Union Unity

By LEON TROTSKY

The question of the unity of the workers' organizations is not subject to a single solution suitable for all forms of organization and for all conditions.

The question resolves itself most categorically for the party. Its complete independence is the elementary condition of revolutionary action. But even this principle does not give in advance a ready-made reply to the questions: when and under what conditions must the split, or, on the contrary, the unity be made with a neighboring political current? Such questions are settled each time on the basis of a concrete analysis of the tendencies and the political conditions. The highest criterion, in any case, remains the necessity for the vanguard of the organized proletariat, the party, to preserve its complete independence and its autonomy on the basis of a distinct program of action.

But precisely such a solution of the question with regard to the party not only admits, but as a general rule, renders indispensable a quite different attitude with regard to the question of the unity of other mass organizations of the working class: trade unions, cooperatives, Soviets.

Each one of these organizations has its own tasks and methods of work, and within certain limits, independent ones. For the Communist party, all these organizations are first of all the arena of the revolutionary education of broad workers' sections and of the recruitment of the advanced workers. The larger the mass in the given organization the greater are the possibilities it offers the revolutionary vanguard. That is why, as a rule, it is not the Communist wing but the reformist wing which takes the initiative to split the mass organizations.

THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE TRADE UNIONS

It is enough to contrast the conduct of the Bolsheviks in 1917 to that of the British trade unions in recent years. The Bolsheviks not only remained in the same trade unions with the Mensheviks, but in certain trade unions they tolerated a Menshevik leadership, even after the October revolution, although the Bolsheviks had the overwhelming majority in the Soviets. The British trade unions, on the contrary, upon the initiative of the Laborities, not only drive the Communists out of the Labor party but, so far as it is possible, out of the trade unions as well.

In France, the split in the trade unions was also the consequence of the initiative of the reformists, and it is no accident that the revolutionary trade union organization, compelled to lead an independent existence, adopted the name of unitary [the name of the Left wing trade union center in France is "Unitary General Confederation of Labor". Ed.]

Do we demand today that the Communists quit the ranks of the General Confederation of Labor [the Right wing trade union center]? Not at all. On the contrary: the revolutionary wing within the Confederation of Jouhaux must be strengthened. But by that alone we show that the splitting of the trade union organization is in no case a question of principle for us. All these ultra-Leftists objections in principle that may be formulated against trade union unity apply first of all to the participation of Communists in the G.C. of L. Yet every revolutionist who has not lost touch with reality must recognize that the creation of Communist fractions in the reformist trade unions is an extremely important task. One of the tasks of these fractions must be the defense of the U. G. C. of L. before the members of the reformist trade unions. This cannot be accomplished except by showing that the Communists do not want the splitting of the trade unions but, on the contrary, that they are ready at any moment to re-establish trade union unity.

If one admits for an instant that the splitting of the trade unions is imposed by the duty of the Communists to oppose a revolutionary policy to that of the reformists, than one cannot limit himself to France alone: One must demand that the Communists, regardless of the relationship of forces, break with the reformist trade unions and also constitute their own trade unions in Germany, in England, in the United States, etc. In certain countries, the Communist parties have actually taken this road. In specific cases, the reformists really leave no other way out. In other cases, the Communists commit an obvious mistake by falling into the provocations of the reformists. But up to now, the Communists have never and nowhere motivated the splitting of the trade unions by the inadmissibility in principle of working with the reformists in the organizations of the proletarian masses.

Without stopping to deal with the cooperative organizations, the experiences with which will add nothing essential to what has been said above, we will take as an example the Soviets. This organization arises in one of the most revolutionary periods, when all problems are put with the keenness of a blade. Can one, however, imagine even for a moment the creation of Communist Soviets as a counterpoise to social democratic Soviets? This would mean to kill the very idea of the Soviets. At the beginning of 1917, the Bolsheviks remained within the Soviets as an insignificant minority. For months—and in a period when months counted for years, if not for decades—they tolerated a conciliationist majority in the Soviets, even though they already represented an overwhelming majority in the factory committees. Finally, even after the conquest of power, the Bolsheviks tolerated the Mensheviks within the Soviets while these latter represented a certain part of the working class. It was only when the Mensheviks had completely compromised and isolated themselves, by being transformed into a clique, that the Soviets threw them out of their midst.

In Spain, where in the near future the slogan of Soviets could already be put practically on the order of the day, the very creation of Soviets (juntas), provided there is an energetic and bold initiative of the Communists, is not to be conceived of otherwise than by way of a technical organizational agreement with the trade unions and the socialists on the method and the intervals of the election of workers' deputies. To advance, under these conditions, the idea of the inadmissibility of work with the reformists in the mass organizations would be one of the most disastrous forms of sectarianism.

REFORMISM AND THE WORKING CLASS

How then is such an attitude on our part towards the proletarian organizations led by the reformists to be reconciled with our evaluation of reformism as the Left wing of the imperialist bourgeoisie. This contradiction is not a formal but a dialectical one, that is to say, one that flows from the very course of the class struggle. A considerable part of the working class (its majority in a number of countries) rejects our evaluation of reformism; in other countries, it has not as yet even approached this question. The whole problem consists precisely of leading these masses to revolutionary conclusions on the basis of our common experiences with them. We say to the non-Communist and to the anti-Communist workers: "Today you still believe in the reformists leaders whom we consider to be traitors. We cannot and we do not wish to impose our point of view upon you by force. We want to convince you. Let us then endeavor to fight together and to examine the methods and the results of these fights." This means: full freedom of groupings within the united trade unions where trade union discipline exists for all.

No other principled position can be proposed.

* * *

The Executive Committee of the Ligue [Left Opposition in France] is at present correctly giving first place to the question of the united front. This is the only way that one can prevent the reformists, and above all their Left wing agents, the Monattists, from opposing to the practical tasks of the class struggle the formal slogan of unity. Vassart*, as a counter-balance to the sterile official line, has put forward the idea of the united front with the local trade union organizations. This way of posing the question is right in the sense that during local strikes it is primarily a question of working with local trade unions and specific federations. It is equally true that the lower links of the reformist apparatus are more sensitive to the pressure of the workers. But it would be wrong to make any kind of principle difference between agreements with the local opportunists and those with their chiefs. Everything depends upon the conditions of the moment, upon the strength of the pressure of the masses, and upon the character of the tasks which are on the order of the day.

It is self-understood that we in no case put the agreement with the reformists, whether locally or centrally, as the indispensable and preliminary condition for the struggle in each specific case. We do not orientate ourselves according to the reformists but according to the objective circumstances and the state of mind of the masses. The same applies to the character of the demands put forward. It would be fatal for us to engage ourselves in advance to accept the united front according to the conditions of the reformists, that is, upon the basis of minimal demands. The working masses will not rise for the struggle in the name of demands that would seem fantastic to them. But on the other hand, should the demands be too restricted in advance, then the workers may say to themselves: "The game is not worth the candle."

The task does not consist of each time proposing the united front formally to the reformists, but of imposing conditions upon them which correspond as best as possible to the situation. All this demands an active and maneuverist strategy. In any case, it is incontestable that it is particularly and only in this way that the U. G. C. of L. can moderate, up to a certain point, the consequences of the division of the masses into the trade union organizations, that it can throw the responsibility for the split upon those on whom it really belongs, and put forward its own positions of struggle.

The singularity of the situation in France presents the fact that two trade union organizations have been existing there separately for many years. In the face of the ebb of the movement in recent years, people have accustomed themselves to the split, very often it has simply been forgotten. However, one could foresee that the revival in the ranks of the working class would inevitably revive the slogan of the unity of the trade union organizations. If one takes into account that more than nine-tenths of the French proletariat is outside of the trade unions, it becomes clear that with this revival being accentuated, the pressure of the unorganized will increase. The slogan of unity is nothing but one of the first consequences of this pressure. With a correct policy, this pressure should be favorable to the Communist party and the U. G. C. of L.

If, for the next period, an active policy of the united front is the principal method of the trade union strategy of the French Communists, it would nevertheless be a thorough mistake to oppose the policy of the united front to that of the unity of the trade union organizations.

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNITED FRONT

It is entirely incontestable that the unity of the working class can only be realized on a revolutionary basis. The policy of the united front is one of the means of liberating the workers from reformist influence and even in the last analysis, towards the genuine unity of the working class. We must constantly explain this Marxian truth to the advanced workers. But a historical perspective, even the most correct one, cannot replace the living experience of the masses. The party is the vanguard, but in its work, especially in its trade union work, it must be able to lean towards the rearguard. It must, in fact, show the workers—once, twice and even ten times if necessary—that it is ready at any moment at all to help them reconstitute the unity of the trade union organizations. And in this field, we remain faithful to the essential principles of Marxian strategy: the combining of the struggle for reforms with the struggle for the revolution.

What is the attitude today of the two trade union confederations towards unity? To the broad circles of the workers, it must appear entirely identical. In truth, the administrative strata of the two organizations have declared that the unification can only be conceived of "from below" on the basis of the principles of the given organization. By covering itself with the slogan of unity from below, borrowed from the U. G. C. of L., the reformist confederation exploits the forgetfulness of the working class and the ignorance of the younger generation which knows nothing of the splitting work of Jouhaux, Dumoulin and Co. At the same time, the Monattists assist Jouhaux by substituting for the fighting tasks of the labor movement the single slogan of trade union unity. As honest courtiers, they direct all their efforts against the U. G. C. of L. in order to detach from it the greatest possible number of trade unions, to group them around themselves and then to enter upon negotiations on an equal footing with the reformist confederation.

As far as I am able to judge here from the material I have, Vassart has expressed himself for the Communists themselves to put forward the slogan of a unification congress of the two trade union confederations. This proposal was categorically rejected; as for its author, he was accused of having gone over to Monatte's position. Lacking data, I am unable to express myself thoroughly on this discussion. But I consider that the French Communists have no reason to abandon the slogan of a fusion congress. On the contrary.

The Monattists say: "The first are splitters as well as the second. We alone are for unity. Workers, support us". The reformists reply: "As for us, we are for unity from below", that is, "we" will generously permit the workers to rejoin our organization. What must the revolutionary confederation say on this subject? "It is not for nothing that we call ourselves the unitary confederation. We are ready to realize the unity of the trade union organization even today. But for that the workers have no need at all of suspicious courtiers who have no trade union organization behind them and who feed upon splits like maggots on a festering wound. We propose to prepare and convene after a definite period a fusion congress on the basis of trade union democracy."

This manner of posing the question would have immediately cut the ground from under the feet of the Monattists, who are a completely sterile political grouping, but capable of bringing a great confusion into the ranks of the proletariat. But will not this liquidation of the group of courtiers cost us too dearly? It will be objected that in case the reformists should consent to a unity congress, the Communists would be in the minority there and the U. G. C. of L. would have to yield its place to the G. C. of L.

Such a consideration can only appear persuasive to a Left trade union bureaucrat who is fighting for his "independence", while losing sight of the perspectives and tasks of the movement as a whole. The unity of the two trade union organizations, even if the revolutionary wing remains in the minority for a time, would show itself in a short period of time to be favorable precisely to Communism and only to Communism. The unity of the confederations would bring in its train a great influx of new members. Thanks to this, the influence of the crisis would be reflected within the trade unions in a more profound and more decisive fashion. The Left wing would be able, within the rising new wave, to begin a decisive struggle for the conquest of the unified confederation. To prefer a sure majority in a narrow and isolated trade union confederation to oppositional work in a broad and real mass organization, can be done only by sectarians or officials but not by proletarian revolutionists.

For a thinking Marxist, it is quite evident that one of the reasons which contributed to the monsrous mistakes of the leadership of the U. G. C. of L. was due to a situation where people like Monmousseau, Semard and others, without theoretical preparation or revolutionary experience, immediately proclaimed themselves the "masters" of an independent organization and consequently had the possibility of experimenting with it under the orders of Losovsky, Manuilsky and Co. It is incontestable that if the reformists had not at one time arrived at the splitting of the confederation, Monmousseau and Co. would have had to reckon with broader masses. This fact alone would have disciplined their bureaucratic adventurism. That is why the advantages of unity would have been immeasurably greater at present than the disadvantages. If, within the unified confederation embracing about a million workers, the revolutionary wing remains in the minority for a year or two, these two years would be undoubtedly more fruitful for the education not only of the Communist trade unionists, but for the whole party, than five years of "independent" zig-zags in a U. G. C. of L. growing constantly weaker.

No, it is not we, but the reformists, who should fear trade union unity. If they consent to a unity congress—not in words but in fact—that would create the possibility of bringing the labor movement in France out of the blind alley. But that is just why the reformists will not consent to it.

The conditions of the crisis are creating the greatest difficulties for the reformists, primarily in the trade union field. That is why they find it so necessary to take sheiter behind their Left flank; it is

(Continued on page 8)

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* One of the Communist party leaders in the red trade unions who, after having been one of the most prominent bannerbearers of the "third period" policy of the Comintern and the French party, has fallen out over questions of policy with the party leadership. His course is sometimes referred to by the official party leaders, in their polemics against him, as "semi-Trotskyist". Ed.

What Is Happening In Spain Today: Recent Events

(Continued from page 1)

called the "book fair" (during the feast of St. George, who is considered here as the protector of Catalonia and who was celebrated for the first time this year since the **coup d'Etat** of Primo de Rivera, book expositions are organized everywhere and lectures held on the importance of books and culture in general), our comrade Nin published in Catalonian the little pamphlet of L. D. Trotsky on his exile, entitled "How Did It Happen?" (Que Hat Passat?). This little pamphlet enjoyed an exceptional success; the students and workers grabbed it up. Many workers and students came to our comrades after having read it, and expressed their . . . deception. Why? Because, they say, as soon as the red pamphlet made its appearance in front of the newstands and bookstores of the Ramblas everybody thought that comrade Trotsky explained in this pamphlet how the fall of the monarchy in Spain happened. And even this supposition was advanced: since he has succeeded so quickly in making public his opinions on the most recent events in Spain, he should certainly enter Spain incognito. But upon reading the pamphlet they found out with regret that comrade Trotsky spoke of things which are, actually, much less "interesting" than the Spanish events.

DEMAGOGY OF THE REPUBLICANS

The interest and the great sympathy for Communism does not manifest itself only by the interest in the life and the works of the great revolutionist of our epoch and of the first fighter for the Russian revolution. Already before the fall of the monarchy, the workers, the peasants and the petty bourgeois masses sympathized with the most radical and boldest social doctrine. During the election campaign, it was not enough for the republican candidates and the Catalan nationalists of the Macia type to promise the electors of the city of the country the establishment of a democratic republican régime and the national independence of Catalonia. They were obliged to resort to demagogy by telling the credulous voters: you speak of decisive social changes, you speak of Communism? But we are Communists, we are your real defenders. Having come to power, we shall create conditions of existence of an ideal equality and we shall do it without fratricidal struggle, without the spilling of blood.

It is this social demagogy, plus the complicity of the anarchists who recruited an electoral clientele for the party of Macia, and the absence of a unified and solid Communist party which permitted the nationalist demagogues to win over tens of thousands of peasants and workers.

How will these workers and peasants who voted en masse for the "Communism" of Macia rather than for his Catalonian nationalism, conduct themselves in the future? There is the real question that one must put in order to measure the imminence of the Communist peril. Today, it is still in the depth of the roots of sympathy for Communism and for Soviet Russia that thepotential force of the exploited masses of Spain must be measured. The democratic illusions still exist today; perhaps they will still exist tomorrow. But how much time will the workers and poor peasants in Spain require to find out that the advent of the republic, with the large Andalusian landowner, Alcala Zamora, at its head, in no way signifies—rather the contrary—the advent of a social régime favorable to the exploited masses?

Comrade Nin tells you in a thorough article on the basis of precise data and a profound analysis, what are the perspectives for the development of the class struggle in Spain, given the present events. I want to dwell here only on the immediate impressions that are communicated to every conscientious observer who comes to Spain today in order to distinguish amidst the deceptive noise of the "Marseillaise" the heart beats of the exploited masses who anguishedly seek the broad road of the social revolution.

Every Communist knows that without a firm and solid unified Communist party all the potential forces of the working class are in danger of being dissipated in vain, or still worse, of carrying water to the mill of the class enemy. What is the situation here from the point of view of the Communist party?

The French workers who read "L'Humanite" are informed every day that the real enemies of the Spanish proletariat are the "Spanish Trotskyites". The articles of Juan Perez and of Gabriel Peri cannot (or **dare not** conclude?) without pronouncing a few anathemas against the Trotskyites. Those readers who are familiar with the customs of Stalinist journalism can only come to one conclusion after reading these articles: if the bureaucrats strike so violently against the "Trotskyites", it is because they are pretty strong there. These readers will not be deceived. In fact, if we are not very strong from the organizational point of view, on the other hand, the penetration of **the ideas of the Left** Opposition, that is, of the Leninist ideas on the preparation of the proletarian revolution, is advancing from day to day among the masses of the workers.

When the Péris and the Perezes write that the Spanish Trotskyites are working hand in hand with the Republicans and the social fascists, the whole world knows that is a stupid and ridiculous lie. But in their information there is another lie, which the readers who are not familiar with Spanish affairs, cannot detect so readily. That is when they put into one "Trotskyite" bag **all** the Spanish and Catalonian Communists save those two dozen appointed by the C. I. who pompously call themselves "Partido Communista de Espana (S. E. de la I. C.)"

In reality the Catalonian Federation, which has been expelled from the C. I., and which numbers nearly a thousand members and issues a few publications, is far from being completely won over to the Left Opposition. We can even affirm that in this Federation, which is the nemesis of the whole C. I. bureaucracy, there is a goodly number of Centrists (sincere and honest, because they are less corrupt than the Péris and the Perezes) who do not accept our criticism of the mistakes of the Comintern and of centrism in the U. S. S. R. But what keeps them in the Catalonian Federation side by side with Left Oppositionists and semi-Oppositionists is their agreement in principle with regard to bureaucratic methods of the C. I. in relation to the Spanish Communist movement. They have been expelled from the C. I. in an arbitrary fashion and they protest against this expulsion. But in their naiveness, they believe the expulsion was only the result of misinformation on the part of the leaders of the C. I. and a misunderstanding. They refuse to believe that the C. I., created by Lenin and Trotsky, can expel a whole organization and its most prominent militants, comrades esteemed by the workers like Nin and Maurin, solely because they have refused to carry out word for word the stupid directives of the narrow minded bureaucrats in Moscow.

A whole series of experiences is still necessary for these sincere Centrist comrades to arrive at our conclusions in our whole criticism since 1923, to this day. At present, when the awakening of the masses and their spirit of combativity is at its highest, it is important to come to an agreement on a program of struggle for the proletariat. This community of ideas between ourselves and the Catalonian Federation already exists in a large measure. The "Batalla" [Organ of the Catalonian Federation—Ed.] of this week has issued and broadly expounded in its articles the slogans of Revolutionary Juntas, rights of self-determination for the various nationalities, arming of the people, the destruction of the old administrative apparatus, confiscation of the great landed estates, separation of the Church from the State, etc.

The program by comrade Trotsky three months before the fall of the monarchy has proved to be the most adequate for the revolutionary situation in Spain. The conscientious Communists of the Catalonian Federation have understood it and are adopting it in their actions. They have also understood that in order to put this program into application it is necessary to unify all the Communist forces in the country. They have issued the slogan of the unification of all Communists, expelled and not expelled from the C. I. They have put themselves to their task and have begun to prepare the unity congress.

Péri and Doriot with their delegation have come here with the distinct mission to disrupt this action of the Spanish Communst movement. With their presence, they have hoped to raise the fallen morale of the C. I. functionaries in Spain. They want to make of them a real Communist party. But they realize that this impossible, and consequently they are attempting to "destroy" the "Trotskyites", that is, the only serious Communist group that the working class of this country has.

This is a crime that we must denounce before the working class of all countries.

Barcelona, April 26, 1931

J. OBIN.

P. S. In the next letter, we shall deal with the situation in the rest of Spain.

The Tasks of the Communists in Spain

(Continued from page 1)

the slightest intention of touching either the sacred rights of the large landowners or the feudal survivals except in the form of "foros", "metayage", "rabassa morta". and so forth, which exist in the country.

In the question of nationalities, one of the most serious in Spain, the attitude adopted by the government of Alcala Zamora is no less significant. It is indisputable that the proclamation of the Catalonian republic, which preceded that of the Spanish republic at Madrid, was the most revolutionary act accomplished on April 14. An authentic democratic government would have had to recognize without reservations an act which was supported by the overwhelming majority of the Catalonian people. However, the new central power stood up against the young republic and demonstrated a chauvinist, absorptive, assimilative spirit, in no way more preferable than that of the central power which has disappeared.

As to the relations with the church, the provisional government has confined itself to decree the liberty of cults and the secularization of cemeteries, without saying a word about what constitutes one of the traditional demands of democracy—the separation of the church from the state—nor of the confiscation of the wealth of the religious congregations nor of the dissolution of the latter.

And the state apparatus? It remains the same as under the old régime, the most ardent partisans of which continue to occupy the most important positions.

Finally, what has the provisional government done to parry the probable blows of the reaction which conspires and which finds itself in an extremely advantageous position since it has in its hands the decisive levers of the state apparatus? It allowed Alfonso of Bourbon as well as the leaders of the organizations of assissins founded by the former governor of Barcelona, Martinez Andio to escape; it takes no measures against the army officers who are conducting open and conspirative monarchist propaganda against the new order of things: it leaves intact and fully armed, the 'Guardia Civil", those butchers of the working class, deeply hated by the masses: it refuses, finally, to take any swift and energetic measures capable of disarming the enemy and rendering impossible every attempt at restoration.

WHO WILL CARRY THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION?

All this goes to show in a striking manner what we have constantly contended in these recent months: that the bourgeois-democraic revolution cannot be accomplished by the bourgeoisie, that it can only be the work of the proletariat in power supporting itself upon the peasant masses who, in Spain, represent seventy percent of the laboring population More concretely: the bourgeois democratic revolution can be realized in our country only by the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But can the dictatorship of the proletariat be the slogan of the Communists in the present stage of the revolution, or, to put it differently, can it be not a slogan of propaganda but a slogan of agitation? In our opinion, it would be a profound error in tactics which would be in manifest contradiction to all the teachings of Marx and Lenin.

Our fundamental task must be that of winning the decisive majority of the worker and peasant mases. These masses are at the present time hypnotized by democratic illusions. It is on this ground that we must win them, showing them, **by their own experience,** the incapacity of the bourgeoisie to solve the problems of the democratic revolution, and thus winning them, **always on the basis of experience,** by means of a constant criticism of the work of the republic, to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our slogan, then, must at the present moment be the complete realization of the democratic revolution, solving the agrarian problem by the unindemnified expropriation of the large landed estates and the distribution of the land to the peasants; the recognition of the right of Catalonia and the other nationalities to dispose freely of their destinies, without excluding separation if that is their desire; the separation of the church from the state and the expropriation of all the wealth of the religious orders; the destruction of the state apparatus; the disarming of the "Guardia Civil" and the arming of the workers and peasants; the trial by a revolutionary tribunal of all the avowed enemies of the people.

Parallel to this, we must work energetically to organize the masses and effectively direct their struggle, by strengthening the revolutionary trade unions, by creating factory councils, by establishing everywhere revolutionary **Juntas** of workers, peasants and soldiers, and above all, by unifying all the Communist forces that exist today in the country. The organization of the revolutionary vanguard into a powerful Communist party is a question of life or death for the Spanish proletariat. The Communist Left Opposition will spare no effort nor sacrifice to contribute towards furnishing the working class of our country with the weapon of struggle which it needs so urgently. This weapon must be forged at all costs. The whole future of the Spanish revolution depends upon it.

Barcelona, April 1931.

Times and the Daily

(Continued from page 6)

see, is supposed to be the opinion of Trotsky! Can there be any doubt in any sane individual's mind that a person capable of writing such tripe must be a half-wit himself? Continues Jorge: "And without one word of condemnation [of the Czar]—except that of weakness' . . ." This is such an idiotic, palpable stupidity that it would be of no purpose to mention it, were it not that it appears in the official organ of the Communist party. This, in a little cruder form, typifies the whole content and method of the slander unceasingly hurled at the Left Opposition on every possible occason.

Jorge raves further: "All about the scandals of tne Czar's family . . . he can explain endlessly how the Czar's secret police reported The night of 25-26 was spent by the actress V. with Rasputin' and 'He arrived at the Hotel Astoria with Princess D.'" Endlessly! It is astonishing: do these people really think that they can slander with impunity when anyone can satisfy himself so easily as to the truth? It is all very symptomatic. Just as the few citations by Trotsky from the reports of the secret police portray the decay of a ruling clique doomed by the progress of history, so the disgusting remarks of Jorge reflect the political degeneration of the Stalinist bureaucratic clique now strangling the life of the party, and also condemned by history.

Jorge concludes his slander for the time being with the legend manufactured and circulated by the Stalin school of fabricators that during the civil war in 1919 Stalin was appointed to reorganize the southern front while Trotsky was forbidden to interfere. The full account of the orgins of this legend Trotsky relates in chapter XXXVI of his autobiography. For our purpose it will be sufficient to quote from the resolution of the Central Committee adopted July 6, 1919 (Real Situation in Russia, page 259-60): "The Organization Bureau and the Politburo of the Central Committee will do all that they can to make more comfortable for comrade Trotsky and more fruitful for the Republic, that work on the southern front which comrade Trotsky himself has chosen, and which is the most difficult, the most dangerous, and the most important at the present moment. In his position as People's Commissar for War and President of the Military Revolutionary Soviet, and as member of the Military Revolutionary Soviet of the southern front, with that Commissar of the southern front, Yegorov, whom he himself nominated and the Central Committee has confirmed, comrade Trotsky is free to act.

"The Organization Bureau and the Politburs of the Central Committee give comrade Trotsky full authority by every means whatsoever to achieve what he considers a necessary correction of policy on the military question and, if he so desires, to attempt to hasten the congress of the party."

The resolution was signed by Lenin, Krestinsky, Kalinin, Serebriakov, Stalin and Stasov.

Let the slanderers slander. In the end it will only help to annihilate them. The work of comrade Trotsky on the Russian Revolution through its analysis of the victory of 1917 will help prepare the international victory of tomorow. Toward this end we will direct our energies.

—GEORGE RAY.

«America Conquers Britain»

"America Conquers Britain" was written by Ludwell Denny a couple of years ago, but an examination of its contents at this time cannot be considered out of date. The significance it had at the height of the "prosperity" is only increased now in the period of crisis.

The book contains data on conditions until 1928, when the United States was at the apex of its prosperity; but the premises of this prosperity were already preparing the ground for the metamorphosis from the prosperity period to an era of starvation and misery for the masses. The American scene is changing: the satisfied and docile labor of which Denny writes, is in a process of fermentation: America's internal market is greatly depressed, and must find further outlets for her products. Conquering America is now America Conquered —by her own contradictions; no matter in what part of the world, and under what conditions, sooner or later capitalism is inexorable and demands its ineluctable toll.

The reader who expects to find an account of armed warfare on the battlefield, as the title would indicate, will be disappointed; it is, as the sub-title states, "A Record of Economic War"; of the battle on the economic field between the United States and Great Britain for raw materials, for markets, and other appurtenances of capitalist rivalry, which are the undercurrents of actual warfare and lay the basis for the emanation into it.

Ludwell Denny writes as an American liberal, and one senses in his writing a certain pride in "our" country, in being on the side that conquers; in having an attitude that flavors of contempt toward the country that is being defeated, and for its antiquated mechanism and technique. However, his views do not interest us in this instance: what is of consequence are the figures and wealth of factual materials he has gathered together, the research, and analysis. Nothing is conjectured, everything has backing, culled mostly from government and official sources.

The Rise of America

Denny gives a graphic account of the living battle now raging between the ascending and descending Goliaths, the United States of America and Great Britain. From the last century to the outbreak of the war, England's hegemony held sway, but the economic warfare now going on between America and England was then existent between England and Germany; the World War was the culmination of Germany's challenge to England for supremacy. During the bloody battle, Germany was beaten, and England thought herself once more mistress of the world. But no sooner had she turned around than she was faced by an upstart of capitalism, the U. S. A., which had planted itself in the place of Germany as England's foremost competitor, with the exception that she was a more formidable and powerful foe, and England was war-weary and weaker. The United States had taken advantage of the war to establish its own interests; "The World War is no more responsible for America's strength than Britain's weakness, except in the sense that it speeded certain processes already under way." Europe conducted the war with America's money and is now burdened with paying war debts to the U. S. A., and paying tribute through many channels.

The "secret" of America's success lies in her modern technique and machine era; England's greatness was based upon her industrial supremacy in the nineteenth century. She conquered colonies for raw materials, markets, and food supplies, and this gave impetus for her becoming a naval power, a believer in freedom of the seas and a free trade policy at home. She was dominant in the coal and steel industries.

The United States came upon the scene later: her methods were those of the twentieth century; modern machinery and mass production. England's coal gave way to America's electricity. From 1919 to 1925 the total horsepower in the United States increased by 22 percent. Combinations and mergers were the order of the day, and industry became centralized and efficient. These factors combined with telling effect, as shown by the output per capita in the U. S. A. at 710 units (1925), as compared with that of the United Kingdom of 282 units per capita, in the same year; this means that the United States was able to produce vast quantities of goods at lower prices than her competitors. Nineteenth century England was not able to keep up with the accelerated pace of production of modern America. The U. S. A. put up high tariffs to protect her vast home market; she had plenty of raw materials; production went ahead merrily, the working class was better off than its European brothers. This was surely a capitalist Utopia.

Before the war the U. S. had 12 percent. of the world's exports, and Britain 16 percent. In 1928 the U. S. had 18 percent and Great Britain 12 percent. Mr. Hoover stated then: "Our **prosperity** depends on keeping the **foreign markets** which absorb 10 percent. of our industrial production surplus," (our emphasis), and Denny says further: "We are in no sense self-sufficient." Mr. Hoover has evidently overlooked Stalin's theory of an isolated self-sufficient national economy.

The Decline of England

Wherever England looks, it sees a black picture. In the British Empire, which accounts for one-third of Britain's overseas trade, Canada was purchasing five times as much from the U. S. A. as from the United Kingdom, and Britain's share of foreign capital there fell from 77 percent. to 39 percent., while the U. S. capital increased from 16 pecent. to 57 percent., within the last decade. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, in fact in all the Dominions, British imports were decreasing, and those of the U. S. A. were increasing. The same applies to India, the cornerstone of British imperialism, where the United Kingdom, although still holding a dominant position in her trade, is being encroached upon by the U. S. A.

The Dominions are raising tariffs against the mother country, to protect their own industries (Canada raised from 25 percent to 50 percent. British workmanship and material in order to receive preference: Australia); they have their own troubles, and Britain can expect no help from these sources. Britain shows her appreciation of Imperial Economic Unity by purchasing cheaper wheat from Russia and the Argentine, rather than pay the monopoly prices of the Canadian Wheat Pool; it is too expensive a relationship. Another "remedy" now being propagated is a high tariff. England, a world power in her day, with flourishing industries, is now talking tariffs as a means of saving herself; but a tariff means the masses will have to pay dearer prices for food. The fact alone that these panaceas are even being suggested shows how the mighty have fallen.

The late, unlamented Lord Melchett's vision of Imperial Unity finds a haven in the same place that he himself is now.

In South America the battle is at a sharp stage. Colonel Lindberg went on a "good-will" mission on behalf of American capital; the Prince of Wales retaliated for British finance, and Argentine has signed a trade agreement with the United Kingdom. This does not mean that the problem is settled, but that the U. S. A. will press still further for a share of the market; in fact, Britain's share in South American imports fell during 1913-1927 from 25 percent. to 16 percent., while those of the U. S. rose from 24 percent. to 38 percent.

These figures show the trend; in every country it is the same: the U. S. A. is gaining markets at the expense of Britain.

British industry must be completely re-equipped in order to compete with modern industry, but large-scale rationalization in the midst of her present serious economic crisis means social convulsions, and her rulers are hesitating before putting it into effect. And so England sways with a disease-ridden system, not knowing when the next limb will fall off.

The Fight for Supremacy

The struggle for raw materials is a sordid page of history. In order to capture oil, rubber, chemicals, etc., and other resources, throughout the world, presidents and ministers are proposed and deposed, according to whom they favor, by the United States and England. Mexico, South America, Liberia, China, are some of the fields where the fight is going on every day for supremacy of raw materials. If the native rulers object to foreign domination, diplomatic pressure is brought to bear on them; if that fails, financial pressure is exerted; and if this is not successful then the armed forces are sent, or, as the U. S. does, elections are "supervised" (Nicaragua), also with armed forces. In India and Egypt, and other colonial possessions, the masses are also rising under the unbearable yoke of British domination.

In shipping, the waves are also turbulent; Germany, with the aid of U. S. capital is building new types of boats to compete with the English merchant marine; and the U. S. A. is gradually taking the title away from Britain as mistress of the seas.

The wires in the fight for control of communications, cables, etc., also hum violently. Enormous mergers are taking place of power, cable and communications, to combat the British cable monopoly, which is also one of the most powerful of capitalist propaganda weapons.

Although Great Britain leads as the world's banker, she is being superseded by the United States; if the British Dominions wants a loan they go to New York; if any of the European dependencies require assistance it is to New York they look. Before the war the United States was a debtor nation of -$5,000 millions, now she is a creditor nation of $9,000 millions (in addition to $11,000 millions of war debts). Dr. Max Winkler in March, 1929, fixes American private investments abroad in 1928 at $15,600 millions, while the United Kingdom has about $20,000 millions in foreign investments. But Britain's average surplus for foreign investments during the last four to five years has been about $500 millions less annually in actual money value than her pre-war rate. "More significant than the relative positions of Britain and the United States as creditor nations is the comparative trend. Britain is adding to her foreign investments but much more slowly than formerly".

The Clash

Production in the U. S. A. exceeded its markets, and the calamity of 1929 still continues. If prosperity in 1928 depended upon a margin of 10 percent. of exports, then what is the margin of exports the U. S. must send out to-day to keep her industries going, with 9,000,000 unemployed with no purchasing power, and a greatly depressed purchasing among these still working? The answer is in a further heavy assault upon England's markets, and those of Europe, which will end in warfare.

In the governments of both countries, the ministers and secretaries are also directors of powerful corporations. The following two examples are a criterion: Lord Birkenhead may have been Secretary for India, but he was engaged in extracting profits also as president of an English power corporation, controlled, incidentally, by Americans. Andrew Mellon is Secretary of the U. S. Treasury, but he is also a magnate controlling several key industries.

The linking of government, industry and finance is an obvious and accomplished factor; the class character of the state stands out in relief.

Concurrently with the growth of the crisis, armaments also expand. Expenditures on armies, navies and air forces are to-day greater than ever before, and when the time is ready, a new war will be called into being, with the holy intonation of the church, who will give it their blessing in the name of Jesus Christ. We may quote here an expert in these matters. Rear Admiral Fisk, U. S. N., Retired; "Your economic prosperity rests ultimately on your ability to defend it. Your prosperity may amount to dizzying heights. But it can be absolutely shattered and your commerce ousted from every sea by one naval battle lasting two hours, if your fleet is defeated as the Russian fleet was defeated by the Japanese. Never has any nation lasted long when its wealth increased and its means of defending it did not increase adequately.

Denny treats only of United States—United Kingdom antagonisms; if we take into consideration the other countries and their interests, the situation is indeed vicious and complicaed. And the existence of the Sovet State is exercising an enormous influence upon the correlation of capitalist forces.

We may draw some practical conclusions, especially in reference to the U. S. S. R.

(1) No country is self-sufficient. If the United States, with all her resources, raw materials, mass production and surplus of goods cannot exist as an isolated economy, then how is it possible for the U. S. S. R., a backward industrial country, at the other pole from the U. S. A., with an insufficient productivity of commodities, to build a self-sufficient national economy, and a socialist one at that?

(2) That economy will dominate which accelerates its productivity of industrial products; this is proven by the U. S. A. As the U. S. S. R. makes progress in lowering the costs of production, exports can proceed on a vaster scale than now (which will bring the Soviet Union further into the world market and its contradicions). But the present period is only a breathing space; relief will only come, and socialism will be built, when the international revolution brings succor.

(3) The crisis lies in the capitalist contradictions, and the solution lies in the abolition of capitalism, and the substitution of a regulated productive process, for use, and not for profit. This can only be accomplished by the dispossessed and suffering mass, the proletariat, under the leadership of the Communists The working class of England and America have an historic rôle to play; if the Communist party is the arm of the working class, then the Left Opposition is the elbow that will direct the arm.

—S. GREEN.

The Times and the Daily Worker on Trotsky

Hardly have the introductory chapters of comrade Trotsky's work on the Russian Revolution seen the light of day, than the slanderers of all camps automatically empty their discharge of secreted venom against its author and the ideas he represents. The editorial of the New York **Times** and the ravings of Jorge in the **Daily Worker** on May 5, 1931 are only a foretaste of the floods of calumnious fluids that will pour forth like a deluge from the mouths and pens of professional slanderers of all shades in a concerted attempt to besmirch and discredit the ideas that triumphed in October 1917. Each betrays the only usable ideological weapon at its disposal for combatting the invincible ideas of the international revolutionists: slander multiplied by slander.

It is noteworthy to observe that the opening outbursts of both the **Daily Worker** and the **Times** appear on the same day; that both refer to the same literary work of Trotsky; and that both employ similiar methods of distortion. If we were to pursue the mechanics of reasoning peculiar to the Stalin school (and so ably practised by its exponent Browder), we would have to come to the unescapable conclusion that there exists a united front between the **Daily Worker** and the New York **Times**, and that their actual merging is merely a question of expediency. We would be forced to the conclusion, by the very facts themselves, that parleys had been proceeding all winter between Ochs and Foster. How otherwise can the simultaneous attack on Trotsky be explained? However we will relegate to Browder the task of cogitating on the strange phenomena of politics. We will meanwhile proceed to expose the mendacious nature of their assertions.

Slander has its own methods and its own technique. For example there is the primitive or elementary form in which to the object of its fury is ascribed an outright and outrageous falsehood. A higher form is to tear out some isolated quotation from its context and from the circumstances in which it was made and interpret it to the utmost disfavor of its author. This method has the advantage of appearing clothed with authenticity. Then there is a third method of quoting an excerpt that your opponent has quoted for purpose of exposition and try to compromise him by the sentiments contained in the expository quotation. It is the latter method that is used by the **Times** and a combination of all three by Jorge in their latest sally to throw mud on Trotsky.

The **Times** in its editorial points to the following extract from the Czarina's diary quoted by Trotsky: "I hope they will hang this Duma Deputy, Kedrinsky [she means Kerensky], for his horrible speeches. It is necessary—martial law—and it will be an example. All are thirsting and praying that you will be firm." The editorial remarks that to find this extract in Trotsky's story of the Russian Revolution "is nothing short of astonishing." It asks: "Was it sheer inadvertence on Trotsky's part to cite a document so favorable to Kerensky's place in history?" The **Times** thus implies that Trotsky's estimate of Kerensky's rôle in the revolution has changed. Nothing could be more insidious and false.

Why does Trotsky quote what the Czarina wrote? For the simple reason that he is relating history, that is, facts illuminated by a Marxist interpretaton. If the **Times** had accused Trotsky of inventing the statement made by the wife of Nicholas II, then there might be some sense in its insinuations. But how the comments of a bigoted and superstitious Czarina could in any way determine the evaluation of the rôle of Kerensky in the revolution by Trotsky remains a mystery insoluble by ordinary human logic. Through this quotation, we must patiently explain to the editors of the **Times** who understand this no less than we, that Trotsky reveals the feelings and state of mind in the ruling circles of the monarchy in the face of impending catastrophe. To the Czarina, Kerensky represented a sinister menace, but to Trotsky, and to history he still represents a despicable and sorry figure. The subsequent chapters will confirm this a thousandfold.

The vituperations of Jorge are to be distinguished from those of the **Times** only by their vulgarity and incoherence. His scurrillous rantings sound as if they had been written by an imbecile, or to put it more precisely by just a plain ass. Jorge writes: "The Czar was a half-wit. That is why there was a revolution." This, you

(Continued on page 5)

The Unemployed Cutters Rebel

By ALBERT ORLAND

Over 300 unemployed clothing cutters, members of the most powerful local union of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, Local 4 of New York, have come together and decided to launch a struggle against their miserable conditions. For a long time, these oppressed, starving workers have been suffering patiently and hoping for a change in their conditions. Day in and day out, they have been waiting for their officials to do something for the redress of their miserable situation. Some of them have been unemployed for years and their families have been starving. At the same time they have been witnessing acts of the rankest corruption and have suffered abuse and discrimination at the hands of their officials. Their patience has finally broken down and they came out in an open revolt against the rotten methods of their officials who are responsible for their misery and destitution.

Condition of Unemployed

These unemployed today find themselves in utter despair, hence their defiance of and challenge to those who only yesterday held them in their grip of terror and domination. Deprived of employment because of the corrupt practises of the officials in handling the distribution of jobs, done out of the relief due to them from the fund collected from those employed supposedly for their benefit, betrayed by the general officials who have continually violated the decisions of the last three conventions for a 40-hour week and deceived with a fraudulent unemployment insurance scheme, these unemployed are now determined to demand an account from their officialdom and redress of their grievances.

For 18 weeks, their local union officials have been collecting ten percent of the wages of the employed members of the local which has brought enormous sums into the fund for relief. But the unemployed cutters recived only a miserable portion of that money. The committee elected by the local to administer the fund has been shoved aside and no account has been given to the membership. At the local meetings their protests have been ignored and their demands derided by the officials, The unemployed now protest against the continuation of the assessment which does not go for their benefit and is only a source of corruption for their officials. They demand real relief, the shorter week and division of work.

The Unemployment Insurance Fund established by Hillman is exposed by the unemployed as a complete failure. This fund only serves to insure the dues and the salaries of the officials and is of no benefit to the unemployed. The members contribute to this fund directly or indirectly through constant reductions in the wages, and the fund is used by their officials to maintain themselves in office. The Unemployment Insurance Fund is an adroit scheme to solve the financial problem of collecting dues from the unemployed workers and is also used as a mask for Hillman in his personal publicity campaigns. Hillman and Co. need it. They invented it for their benefit. It is also a boon to the clothing manufacturers. It relieves them of all responsibility to the workers. It also strengthens their bonds with the union officialdom who, jointly with them, exploit the clothing workers.

The unemployed protest against the fraudulent Unemployment Insurance scheme. They demand real unemployment relief. This is the list of their demands as published in the press, after having been adopted at a mass meeting at Manhattan Lyceum on April 23:

The Workers' Demands

(a) The immediate establishment of the 40-hour week with 44-hour pay.

(b) After the 40-hour week has been established, the cutters should work 36 hours so as to create work for the unemployed by distributing the four hours among them.

(c) The immediate abolition of temporary cards.

(d) The equal division of work.

(e) Taking away manufacturers from the tables to be replaced by cutters, thus making work for the unemployed.

(f) The abolition of the ten percent assessment since it does not go to the benefit of the unemployed cutters at all.

(g) The establishment of a system of strict rotation of jobs to be honestly distributed under the supervision of a rank and file committee.

How have the officials responded to the action of the unemployed?

At the very first news of the unemployed gathering to discuss their conditions, warnings were sent out to the hall-keepers in the district to bar the unemployed from the meeting halls. The officials foolishly thought that the unemployed would be scared and discouraged by this trick. The unemployed proceeded with their plans and secured Manhattan Lyceum. The owners of that hall refused to be intimidated and rented a room to the unemployed, where several meetings were held. A committee from the unemployed came to the local executive board to present their claims but the executive refused to deal with them.

At the local meetings, the officials have resorted to the ignoble methods of attacking the unemployed for their actions in meeting "outside of the pale of the organization" and accused them of forming a "rival union". They also did not neglect to raise the hue and cry of Communism, and have threatened with expulsions and starvation. No consideration of the just claims of the unemployed, however, has been given by them and no attempts have ben made to change conditions.

The unemployed, however, have not failed to secure the support of the membership at the local meetings, and they will undoubtedly have this support throughout their struggle. At the local meetings, the membership voted for their demands. But the decisions of the local meetings are trampled under foot by the officials. The struggle of the unemployed will have to be carried further to insure victory for their demands.

The Accomplishments So Far

The officials are in a state of consternation. They fear the development of a rank and file movement. But they are at a loss to the methods for its suppression. The publicity this movement has secured in the press, including the **Forward,** and the sympathy of the employed cutters have shocked the officials and they are terror-stricken. They are, however, determined to crush it before it has had a chance to develop. They see in this revolt of the rank and file a serious challenge to their rule which has been maintained by terror and deceit.

What must the unemployed do to insure victory? The cutters must expand their activities to involve into the struggle, the employed cutters. The interests of the cutters, employed and unemployed, are inseparably bound together. The existence of an unemployed army is a menacing danger to the conditions of those employed. The bosses do not hesitate to use the unemployed to break down the standards of the workers in the shops. The employed should therefore come to the assistance of the unemployed in their struggle to secure the 40-hour week and the abolition of the temporary jobs. They should join hands with the unemployed in their fight for the abolition of the corrupt practises of the officialdom who have turned the union into a racket and deprived hundreds of its best members of the means of existence, members who have sacrificed many of their best years to build up the organization. They must jointly wrest control of the union from the hands of the corrupt clique and maintain it for their own benefit. The demand for an honest election of officials will have to be raised by the entire membership even before the present term of the officials expires. There are sufficient grounds for their recall and impeachment, and they can be made to resign.

The cutters must unite with the workers in the other branches of the clothing industry in a general struggle for the improvement of their conditions and a change in the policies of the organizaton. The A. C. W. A. must abandon their policy of cooperation with the bosses and adopt a fighting policy. Only a united and militant organization can effectively carry out the demands of the membership. The officialdom has always striven to keep the membership divided so that they can maintain their rule unchallenged. It is vitally necessary for the workers to bring about unity in their ranks. The opportunity presented by the present movement of the cutters can be utilized to bring the cutters and tailors together in a common struggle for the shortening of hours and improvement of conditions.

Immediate Relief Needed

The conditions of the unemployed, which have become unbearable, must be relieved immediately. Provisions should be made in the shops for them to divide work with those employed.

Instead of payments to the union treasury where money is squandered by the officials, the employed cutters will render real relief to their unemployed brothers by sharing their work with them. The demand of the unemployed for a 36-hour week with 40-hours pay is a reasonable one and can be carried out by the union with the assistance of the cutters in the shops.

All the above-mentioned conditions are absolutely necessary for the success of the struggle of the unemployed cutters. What the struggle has accomplished so far is that it has brought out into the open the condition of the unemployed and opened the sores of corruption in the cutters' union To effect a real change and remedy the situation this movement must be pushed ahead, expanded in all directions, until it achieves results. It must follow a definite course and follow it to the end. Any recession of this course is dangerous. The enemy is on the watch. The least slip in the wrong direction may cause irreparable damage. Solid unity and conscious action will insure victory not only to the unemployed cutters but also to the general rank and file movement in the A. C. W. A.

Weisbord: Cult of Confusionism

The American movement has been presented with a new group, the "Communist League of Struggle" and the first issue of its paper, the **Class Struggle,** behind which are massed a baker's dozen of supporters of the high priest of confusionism, Weisbord. On the masthead of his group Weisbord has hoisted the banner "Adhering to the International Left Opposition" in the hope of thereby accrediting himself with the name of the Marxist wing of the movement today, and in actuality only to soil and discredit this banner. That he has neither the political right nor the authority to utilize this banner does not concern Weisbord any more than he is concerned with an honest treatment of facts in disputing with his political opponents, primarily with the Left Opposition in the United States.

As to the axis around which Weisbord's whole, creaking theoretical and practical machinery revolves, we find nothing that is new in Weisbord's paper. His "original" contribution to the policy of the Left Opposition (in reality, it is a vulgarized plagiarism from Urbahns, Paz and similars) is the proposal that in order to separate the Communist movement from Menshevism and to "re-establish mass work", the Left Opposition should make a bloc with . . . the Lovestone Right wing. Hopeless "Right wingers" that we are, according to Weisbord, we have nevertheless rejected this ingenious idea in the past, and still do. We are fortunate enough not to be entirely alone in our "sectarianism", especially when comrade Trotsky has expressed himself in our sense on this same proposal of Weisbord. Only four months ago he wrote:

"The leading comrades in the United States inform us that in the American League, certain comrades—to be sure, only individual ones [these individual ones amounted to exactly two comrades: Pollack and Ahrens.—Ed.] speak for a bloc with the Lovestoneites in the name of . . . 'mass work'. It is hard to imagine a more ridiculous, a more inept, a more sterile project than this. Do these people know at least a little of the history of the Bolshevik party? Have they read the works of Lenin? Do they know the correspondence of Marx and Engels? Or has all the history of the revolutionary movement passed them by without leaving a trace? Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the American League has nothing in common with such ideas."

A group with so hopelessly confused a platform as Weisbord's is not one to cause anybody great concern. Confusionism is not a political tendency. It can cause political damage, but Weisbord's capacity for either good or bad is fortunately very strictly limited.

The whole art of Weisbord's "thesis" lies in platonically embracing a few phrases from the Left Opposition; pinning them on to an "economic analysis" which analyses nothing, indicates no trend and allows for every possible variation; justifying his bloc with Lovestone with the invention that there is no such thing as Centrism; merging the three groups in the Communist movement into one single "Right tendency", outside of which stands the genuine Leninist (i. e., Weisbord!); and demanding the outright capitulation "as individuals" of the expelled Oppositionists, of everybody, that is, except Weisbord who "can never abandon its grouping".

One could go on for pages with comment on the confusionism in Weisbord's platform, which is soaking wet with ignorance, an arrant insolence at times, and worse yet, with revolting falsehoods and slanders against us lifted off the dungheaps of Browder-Foster-Lovestone and Co. A few instances will have to suffice to give the measure of the man who seeks to teach us Bolshevism, the man whom "the history of the revolutionary movement passed by without leaving a trace".

Weisbord justifies his criminal action in joining with Foster—while himself a faction agent of Lovestone—to expel the Left Opposition from the party in 1928-1929: "46. The driving out of the Lovestone and Cannon misleaders from the C. P. U. S. A. did not change its essential character"!

Weisbord condemns us for having seen in the Smith vote of 1928 an indication of the radicalization trend in the working class (an honest evaluation of our position of that time would take into account that while we misused the term "radicalization", the whole context of our documents then indicated that we understood by it the discontent of the workers. However false our appreciation may or may not have been, Weisbord, in 1931, discovers a radicalization process in . . . the crime rate rise and bootleg drinking. "34. The life-breaking pressure on the masses is further shown by the tremendous growth of the crime rate. On the one hand this is an illustration of rebellion by the masses . . . Prohibition has helped to intensify the class struggle."

Weisbord (under our pressure) finally proposes the extension of credits to the Soviet Union, not in the proletarian revolutionary sense of linking this demand with the class movement of the unemployed in capitalist countries, but in the Stalinist sense of a pure and simple business proposition between the Soviet state and the foreign bourgeoisie.

Weisbord, who specializes in "self-criticizing" the other factions, has not a single word to say about his own vicious inner-party faction record as a henchman for the Lovestone Right wing since the day he left the Socialist party and joined the Communists in 1925.

Weisbord, his political line being an impossible mixture of loans made from the viewpoints of the three other groups, finds it impossible to assail the platform of the Left on the basis of principle, resorts to slander and lies, a method learned from Lovestone and Stalin, and in the process, can find nothing better to do than to repeat the **Daily Worker** and the **Revolutionary Age.** Our comrades are condemned not only for alleged positions today but for alleged positions (nine-tenths of them inventions, pure and simple) of years gone by: "(d) the theory that the farmers must lead the Labor party movement; (e) Cannon was the first to make an alliance [!] with Pepper—1923 . . . was violently opposed to the organization of the unorganized (Passaic strike 1926) . . . participated in actual betrayal [!] of the New Bedford strike . . . unprincipled united front with former Cannonites (Bill Dunne and Co.) still in the party*" and so on to the point of nausea.

The Opposition on an international scale has, in the past, had to contend with similar confusionist groups, which not only hampered its growth but even discredited it in the eyes of the Communist workers. None of these groups (like Urbahns, Paz, Pollak, etc.), however, ever gave so prominent a place in their movement to such pillars of Stalinism—slander and falsehood—as Weisbord does. The weaker one's position in principle the more such rotten "props" are required. But nothing substantial, nothing of consequence can ever be built upon them. —S.

* Unfortunately for Weisbord, who has been carrying this tale around as a back-door whisper for months, Dunne has just issued a violent statement denouncing Weisbord as well as the Left Opposition. Dunne's venomous and disgraceful vilification of the "Trotskyists" is on a par with the outpourings of those second and fourth rate Stalinist functionaries who have surrendered their revolutionary birthright for the oportunity to mount the ladder of the apparatus by trampling on the rungs of their own past, seeking to purchase consideration for themselves from the infallible center by routine denunciations of the proletarian revolutionists.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

Again we are compelled to call attention to unavoidable omissions from this issue. The reply of the editorial board of the **Militant** to the objections raised by comrade Mihelic to our position on the 6-hour day slogan had to be held over to the next issue, when it will positively appear. Included in it will be a reply also to the official party position as expressed recently in an article by Earl Browder.

Seasonal Improvement -- Where?

The hope of American capitalism in the Spring period to indicate definite signs of a return from the crisis appears shattered, now that this period has come and gone with but a scant rise and an immediate recession. The decline of industry reached the lowest point in the crisis, at the end of January, when the index stood at 74.5. While this is not the lowest position of industry in the economic history of the country. according to the Annalist, (the year 1892, with an index of 72.0, is the lowest point), it marks the worst crisis experienced by United States capitalism since its appearance as an imperialist power.

Seasonal Rise Slight

The Spring seasonal upturn was a slight one. Increased activity was witnessed in most industries, but almost all without exception have again declined, with the prospect of a continuation of this decline with the coming slack of summer months. Thus the end of the first quarter finds the basic industries in depressed conditions, with a great instability in the other trades. The steel industry has declined steadily and at the time of this writing is working 48 and a half percent. of capacity. This present low in steel indicates a similar condition among its chief customers, namely, automobile and railroad. Automobile production dropped to 68.0 at the close of April, which marked a decline of 17.9 points from the December index. Freight car loadings which stood at 80.0 at the end of December, rose slightly during the Spring period, and has now also begun a downward curve—at the end of March the index was at 77.0. Bituminous coal production suffered a drop of 5.9 since the beginning of the year, while drops are also recorded for electric power production and the entire metal industry over the same period.

The most illuminating picture of the depth of the crisis exists in the foreign trade balance, which serves as a barometer in estimating the present situation. A keynote of the crisis is sounded here. In the year 1930 a decline two and three-quarter billions of dollars was experienced in foreign trade. This decline continues at an identical pace. The figures given below represent the foreign trade for the first quarters of the years, 1929, 1930 and 1931. (N. Y. **Times** of April 26, 1931) :—

Jan., Feb., March Exports	Jan., Feb., March Imports
1929—$1,396,589,000	1929—$1,122,156,000
1930—$1,110,300,000	1930—$ 893,136,000
1931—$ 697,543,000	1931—$ 567,847,000

A recapitulation of these figures will show a decline in 1931 of $1,813,399,000 and $738,046,000, from the years 1929, and 1930, respectively. Without its penetration and domination in the sphere of world economy, the phenomenal growth of U. S. capitalism would be unthinkable. It came only as a result of its hegemony over internatoinal capitalism. Its very progress today depends upon its continued domination of world economy. The international crisis of capitalism however found its reaction in the United States; so connected is national economy with international economy.

It is precisely here that American capitalism make its most determined efforts to rise out of the crisis. It is of utmost importance to remember that the previous upward march of U. S. capitalism and its present strength lies primarily in its dominant position in the world market, and as this condition can only be maintained upon the continuation of that rôle, we will witness the chief attempts of U. S. capitalism to extricate itself from the crisis by an evermore intensified aggression in the field of foreign trade. Comrade Trotsky, in his criticism of the program of the Communist International for failure to consider the United States and its rôle in world capitalism, wrote in 1928, that:

"In a critical epoch the hegemony of the United States will prove even more complete, more open, more ruthless, than in a period of boom".

The preparation for this policy is taking place now.

With ITS OWN two levers (the "international" lever and the "national" lever by which it maintains itself) capitalism is planning to issue from the crisis. At present the "national" lever, that of increasing the exploitation of its own working class, is being put to work, and is subjecting the American working class to increased misery and poverty. The slight rise during the Spring period liquidated no appreciable amount of the unemployed army, now numbering about 10 million. On the contrary the offensive against the working class is proceeding at an intensified scale.

Wage Cuts Increased

At present, under the leadership of the banks, the American capitalists are planning to institute a nation-wide campaign of wage cuts. But this "plan" to institue wage cuts is actually in effect today, and the tendency has been increasing since the second half of the year 1930. The following figures of the Standard Statistics Corporation indicate the process in this direction:

1930	No. of Wage Cuts
1st Quarter	25
2nd "	60
3rd "	110
4th "	335
Total	530

The available figures for 1931 shows that the first quarter of this year will prove higher than the entire year of 1930. In January of this year the Standard Statistics Corporation estimates 335 wage cuts, while the U. S. Dept. of Labor states that there were 340 decreases. In addition to wage cuts, the rise in productivity as against the rise in wages over the past ten years shows the declining position of the working class. The N. Y. **Times,** of April 26, 1931, points out that over a period of ten years the increase of productivity was 48.5 percent. as against an increase of 24.3 percent. in real wages, and that for the years 1927-29, the rise in the value of manufacturing stood at 9.1 percent. as against a 3.9 percent. in wages.

Thus the 1st quarter of 1931 passed. The crisis continues much to the amazement of the capitalist economic experts and leaders in industry who cannot see anything "fundamentally wrong with capitalism". The coming year will see the offensive of capitalism increased on an international and national scale. For the organization of a counter-offensive the Communists must now prepare themselves.

—ALBERT GLOTZER.

Weekly by July 1

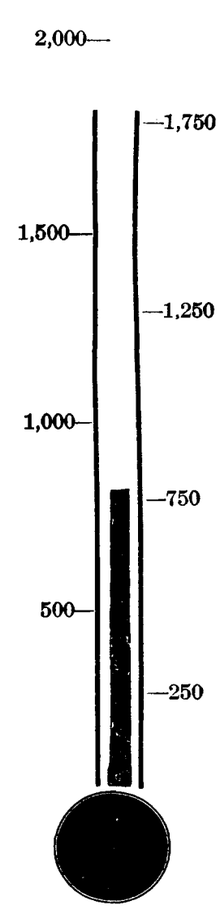
(Continued from page 1)

the **Militant** by increasing by dozens and hundreds the number of our subscribers. Every one of our comrades must concentrate upon obtaining the largest possible number of subscriptions so that our Sub. Drive may be brought to a successful conclusion.

These pre-requisites are far from difficult to achieve. They are the minimum and they can and will be done. The New York branch has already gone on record to increase its efforts towards the end of establishing and maintaining the Weekly. The other branches, we are confident, and all of our sympathizers, will follow this example.

A special effort must be made. We expect every comrade to do more than the share assigned to him. We print below the latest additions to the Expansion Program Fund.It must be increased rapidly. The pledge fund must be maintained. The Weekly WILL be established: it MUST be maintained; it CAN be done.

Montreal	$20.00
Minneapolis	38.00
New York (Saul)	3.25
Kansas City	33.00
J. D. Rust	2.00
Philadelphia	3.00
New York (Berman)	10.00
New York (Friedman)	2.00
New York (J. Rose)	2.00
New York (M. Rose)	2.00
New York (A friend)	25.00
New York M. Miller)	5.00
New York (Capelis)	2.00
New York (Lankin)	2.00
New York (Burns)	2.00
(Shoemaker)	1.00
Chicago	3.00
Total	$155.25
Previously reported	641.75
Total to date	$797.00



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The Question of Trade Union Unity

(Continued from page 4)

the courtiers of unity who offer them this shelter. To unmask the splitting work of the reformists and the parasitism of the Monattists is now one of the most important and indispensable tasks. The slogan of the unity congress can attribute greatly to the solution of this task. When the Monattists speak of unity, they aim this slogan against the Communists; when the U. G. C. of L. will itself propose a road to unity, it will deliver a mortal blow to the Monattists and will weaken the reformists. Isn't this quite clear?

It is true that we know in advance that thanks to the resistance of the reformists, the slogan of unity will not yield the great results at present that would be obtained in the case of a real unity of the trade union organizations. But a more limited result, on the condition of a correct policy by the Communists, will undoubtedly be achieved. The broad masses of the workers will see who is really for unity and who is against it, and will convince themselves that the services of courtiers are not required. There is no doubt that in the long run the Monattists will be reduced to nothing, the U. G. C. of L. will feel itself stronger, and the G. C. of L. weaker and more unstable.

But if that is how matters stand, then does it not amount—not to the realization of an effective unity—but only to a maneuver? This objection cannot frighten us. This is the manner in which the reformists especially evaluate our whole policy of the united front: they declare that our proposals are a maneuver only because they themselves do not want to lead the struggle.

It would be entirely false to make any difference in principle between the policy of the united front and that of the fusion of the trade union organizations. Provided that the Communists preserve the complete independence of their party, of their fraction in the trade unions, of their whole policy, the fusion of the confederations is nothing but a form of the policy of the united front, a more extended and broader form. In rejecting our proposal, the reformists transform it into a "maneuver". But on our part, it is a legitimate and indispensable "maneuver"; it is such maneuvers that train the working masses.

* * *

The Executive Committee of the Ligue, we say again, is entirely correct when it urgently repeats that unity of action cannot be postponed until the unification of the trade union organizations. This idea must be developed as it has been heretofore, explained and applied in practise, But this does not exclude the duty of posing boldly, at a definite and well-chosen moment, the question of the fusion of the confederations (or even of single federations).

The whole question consists of knowing if the Communist leadership is now capable of effecting such a bold maneuver. The future will show. But if the party and the leadership of the U. G. C. of L. today refuse to follow the advice of the Ligue—which is most probable—it may well be that they will be obliged to follow it tomorrow. It is superfluous to add that we make no fetish of trade union unity. We postpone no question of struggle until the unity. It is not a question for us of a panacea, but of a lesson in specific and important things which must be taught to the workers who have forgotten or who do not know the past.

For participation in the unity congress, we do not of course put any conditions of principle.

When the courtiers of unity, who are not ashamed of cheap phrases, say that the united confederation must base itself upon the principle of the class struggle, etc., they are doing verbal acrobatics in the interests of the opportunists. As if a serious man could ask Jouhaux and Co. to tread, in the name of unity with the Communists, the road of the class struggle which these gentlemen have deliberately abandoned in the name of unity with the bourgeoisie. And just what do these courtiers themselves, all these Monattes, Zyromskis and Dumoulins, understand by the "class struggle"? No, we are ready at any moment to stand on the grounds of trade union unity, not in order to "correct" (with the aid of charlatan formulae) the mercenaries of capital, but in order to tear the workers away from their traitorous influence. The only conditions that we put have the character of organizational guarantees of trade union democracy, first of all the freedom of criticism for the minority, naturally on the condition that it submits to trade union discipline. We ask for nothing else and on our part we promise nothing more.

Let us imagine that the party, even if not immediately, follows our advice. How should the Central Committee act? It would first of all be obliged carefully to prepare within the party the plan of the campaign, to examine it in all the trade union fractions in accordance with local trade union conditions, so that the slogan of unity might be effectively directed simultaneously from above and from below. Only after a careful preparation and elaboration, after having eliminated all doubts and misunderstandings in its own ranks, does the leadership of the Unitary Confederation address itself to the leadership of the reformist Confederation with concretely elaborated proposals: to create a parity commission for the preparation, within a period of two months for example, of the trade union unification congress to which all the trade union organizations of the country must have access. Simultaneously, the local Unitary organizations address themselves to the local reformist organizations with the same proposal, formulated with precision and concreteness.

The Communist party develops a broad agitation in the country, supporting and explaining the initiative of the U. G. C. of L. The attention of the broadest circles of workers, and primarily that of the Confederation workers must for a certain time be concentrated on the simple idea that the Communists propose to realize immediately the organizational unity of the trade union oragnizations. Whatever the attitude of the reformists may be, whatever may be the ruses to which they resort, the Communists will come out of this campaign with profit, even if it is only reduced, for the first time, to a demonstration.

The struggle in the name of the united front does not cease, during this period, for a single minute. The Communists contime to attack the reformists in the provinces and in the center, supporting themselves upon the growing activity of the workers, renewing all their offers of fighting actions on the basis of the policy of the united front, unmasking the reformists, strengthening their own ranks, etc. And it may well happen that in six months, in a year or two, the Communists will be obliged to repeat again their proposal of fusion of the trade union confederations and, by that, put the reformists in a position that is more difficult than the first time.

The real Bolshevik policy must have precisely this character which is at once offensive, bold and maneuverist. It is only by this road that the movement can be preserved from stagnation, purged of parasitic formations, and the evolution of the working class towards the revolution accelerated.

The lesson proposed above has no meaning and cannot succeed unless the initiative comes from the U. G. C. of L. and the Communist party. The task of the Ligue does not consist, naturally, of advancing independently the slogan of the unity congress, pitting itself against the Unitary Confederation as well as against the reformist Confederation. The task of the Ligue is to push the official party and the U. G. C. of L. on the road of a bold united front policy and to stimulate them—on the basis of this policy—to carry out at a propitious moment—and in the future there will be many such moments—a decisive offensive for the fusion of the trade union organizations.

In order to fulfill its tasks towards the party, the Ligue—and this is its first duty—must align its own ranks in the field of the trade union movement. It is a task that cannot be postponed. It must and will be solved.